

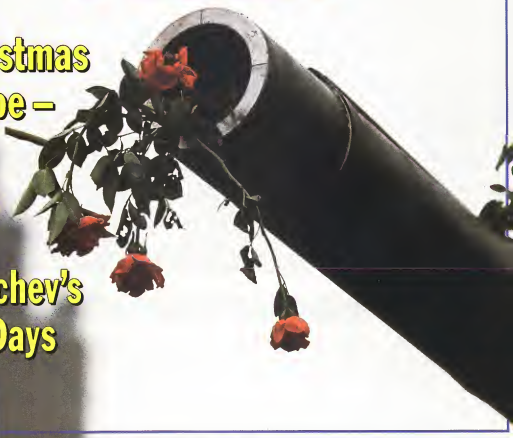
**SPECIAL
REPORT: 1991
IN PHOTOS**

Maclean's

FREEDOM'S YEAR

—
**A Christmas
Of Hope —
And
Chaos**
—

**Gorbachev's
Final Days**





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COVER

FREEDOM'S YEAR

As if rising ethnic tensions and plummeting living standards, the once-poor Soviet Union has been swept away, leaving in its wake both hope and chaos. Russian leader Boris Yeltsin has spearheaded the drive to replace the old union with a new commonwealth that appears to provide no role for the man who set the Soviet revolution in motion: President Mikhail Gorbachev.

IMAGES OF 1991

A YEAR OF REVOLUTION

The year that opened in the dream of war in the Middle East also brought celebration of freedom regained. The images that stamp 1991 as a pivotal year that will color the future are of the new Soviet revolution, led by Boris Yeltsin, which turned 20th-century history upside down.



CANADA

THE UNTHINKABLE

Some analysts say that Ottawa should be ready to use force to defend areas of Quebec that do not want to join an independent state. But military experts point out that Ottawa may not have enough troops to perform any task more demanding than last year's operations in Oka.



OPENING NOTES

Norman Spector falls from grace, John Turner has a house for sale, and John Crosbie speaks out of turn

A FUNNY THING HAPPENED

Federal Fisheries Minister John Crosbie has lost none of his penchant for bravado and wit. But the member for Newfoundland's St. John's West riding pulled the levers of good taste during a speech in Charlottetown on Dec. 6. Addressing a predominantly male audience of about 400 at a Tory fund-raiser, Crosbie, as usual, peppered his prepared speech with jokes and other milder. At one point, after detailing how his party had reduced the number of "infant women living below the poverty line," Crosbie added: "If there are any adult women in Canada." Later, he noted that there are 190,000 more



Crosbie: incoherent remarks

women in Canada's work force now than there were in 1964. Then he added: "Is it any wonder Canada is in trouble?" The audience roared with laughter, and Crosbie turned to his comports on the podium and declared: "Oh my God, I'm going to be in trouble now. Ah, to hell with it." Prime Minister Ian Tully Leader Patricia Halls says that she was "taken aback" by the remarks, although at the time she giggled. And the incident was the subject of an instant opinion-rally program last week during which voters, many of them new, registered their disapproval. F.E.I. Federation of Labor president Alexander MacKay has demanded a public apology. Said MacKay: "The remarks were insensitive and insulting towards all women, particularly on the anniversary of the Montreal massacre of 14 young women."

Selling a home away from home

A month ago John Turner vigorously opposed the Free Trade Agreement during the 1988 federal election campaign. The man who was prime minister for 80 days in 1984 now has reason to hope that in one case, at least, trade between Canada and the United States thrives. The December issue of the New Hampshire-based regional gazette and tourist magazine, *Free*, includes an article that features the late-turner family dwelling, a 20-roomy clapboard house on the St. Croix River at St. Andrews, N.H., that is currently for sale for \$975,000. According to real estate agent George Matthews, most potential buyers have been Americans. The article calls it "a fabulous piece of property" and explains that the house overlooks an island where, in 1686, General de Champlain and his men celebrated their first Christmas in the harsh New World.



Turner's house: a fabulous property

Turner, who schooled the house from his mother, explained that he and his wife, Gail, spend the summer at her family cottage at Lake of the Woods in Northern Ontario. Said Turner: "It's a historic site. If anyone wants to buy it, they can buy it."

WINNIPEG WARMTH

Winnipeggers, accustomed to glazes about their city's cold climate, are taking a curtain in the Dec. 8 issue of *The New Yorker* in stride. The four-page drawing by Rex Christ depicts "Frederick's of Winnipeg" as a spot on the signage in the Frederick's of Hollywood catalogue. The Hollywood version offers each issue as done-dill pajamas and an "Electric Gowny Gown." Said Winnipeg Chamber of Commerce president Stephen Chatterton: "If we dressed like that, our hairdresser would be way down." He added: "We have other ways to keep warm."

RUMORS OF A SHUFFLE

Even at the level of laws, the Prime Minister's Office is a narrow-casting place to work, and sure, with Brian Mulroney's government in disarray, the new target for private criticism by many Tories is Norman Spector, 32, the Prime Minister's chief of staff. Despite his 15 years in a civil service, the man who was a key strategist behind the failed Steele Liberal cabinet has the widespread opinion in the Tory party that can help him: political firm. Spector's behind-the-scenes critics admit: Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark and Paul Miller, chief of the Privy Council's Clerk, blamed Spector for an outcry last month when the government first suggested—before abandoning—plans for a referendum on a constitutional proposal. And Tully accused Spector of poor drafting of a section of a current package of constitutional proposals dealing with economic issues. Last week, many officials who had earlier blamed Spector that Spector would resign, failed to connect: Spector, too, declined to comment. If he leaves or is reassigned, his likely successor is Hugh Segal, 41, whose Ministry based as a political adviser last July. Segal and Spector—both bilingual Ministers who attended the same high school—have worked together well despite their different styles. Segal's outgoing management, agricultural secretary with Spector's chief adviser, Segal, a former principal secretary to then-Ontario Premier William Davis, has close ties with Toronto-based Tories, who now complain that they lack influence with Mulroney. But because of the climate surrounding constitutional issues in the PMO, any chief of staff faces a daunting challenge: to build a consensus among the Prime Minister's lieutenants—and in the rest of the country.



Spector, a target of private criticism



MacDonald: a 'funny' letter from Macdonald

HEAD-HUNTING AT TVONTARIO

Friday, Dec. 13, was the last day of Bernard Orr's tenure as chairman of the publicly funded TVOntario. It was also the day that the network's board of directors met to draw up a shortlist of successors. Sipping the list of rumored candidates for the chairman's job is Mark Starowicz, executive producer of CBC's *The Journal*. And Macdonald has learned that Ontario's NDP government is considering splitting the \$170,000-a-year job in two—creating both a chairman and a chief executive officer. CBC insiders say that Starowicz, who launched *The Journal* in 1983, has been considering a job change for some time. Orr's removal to be on the shortlist include veteran journalist Ann Madigan and Toronto Star columnist Gerald Goggin.

The lure of Tennessee

The Chamber of Commerce in Knoxville, Tenn., has ventured into unfamiliar territory in its campaign to attract industry in September. It mailed a newsletter to 180 Canadian companies urging them to relocate in Knoxville. "Dear Canadian Manufacturer," the letter began. "Because of its strategic location with Interstate 75, 61 and 40 converging within Knoxville, its traditionally low-cost, productive labor force and its positive business climate with competitive taxes, Knoxville can provide the economic environment where your company can prosper." One of the recipients of the letter, however, was the left-wing—and vociferously pro-army—*Times Magazine*, a Toronto-based political and literary journal. Editor Judy MacDonald said that she found the notice "funny, but disturbing." And chamber president Bob Hennessey said that he could not recall what said his organization's Canadian mailing list. But he acknowledged that "it contained some comments we did not recognize. Obviously, this was one of them."

THE NAME IS THE GAME

To commemorate Queen Elizabeth II's 40th anniversary on the throne next year, the British Broadcasting Corp. has prepared a book featuring documentary series and an accompanying 246-page book. The volume includes copies of the book arrived last week at the Toronto offices of its Canadian distributor, McClelland & Stewart Inc., executives quickly

discovered a typist under misapprehension that identified the signature applying the Queen's July 1, 1956, Canada Day speech as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney. In fact, the man in the photograph is Governor General Bruce R. B. B. B.

To correct the error, now face the daunting task of locating the erroneous page out of 20,000 copies of the book and gluing in a replacement—will be head

McClelland & Stewart's vice-president of sales Christopher Skene. "This one is on the back for this."

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COLUMN



Save the mediocre, damn the first-rate

BY BARBARA AMIEL

A dozen years ago I glimpsed briefly—1 had arrived in Egypt, but my luggage stayed in Baghdad. When my suitcase finally made it to the Cairo airport I was treated like a piece of paper. I got the required piece of paper from an unimpressive little Egyptian bureaucrat, and in exchange he gave me his name to another official who was about to take the luggage depot. But the next step was impossible: in order to actually get my bag, which sat there in front of me, I was told to present the piece of paper I had just gotten up. In vain, I pointed to the man in possession of my form. That was deemed insufficient. Three times I was sent out to repeat this hopeless idiosyncrasy. The fourth time, I flung myself to the floor, fumed at the snail and the pig screaming. I got my luggage.

I suggested this technique to a friend who is dealing with Ottawa—the department of transport, aeronautics, health, to be precise. He has a much planer and requires an aeronautics certificate that has to conform to departmental regulations. He is a nice chap, but a little overworked, and it is supposed that he sent off his application digitally later than the required postmarked date. Back came a registered letter asking him to rework the form and mentioning him that he could not file his plane until certification was complete. How long would that be? Oh, about a month. And what is the catch-22 here? Well, the manufacturers of this particular plane want him to order to keep it working, it should be flown once a week—something to do with its deplane and getting the pressure out of overworked equipment.

The point is this. The aeronautics certificate will not make that plane more aerodynamic—the form is just a red line piece of paperwork. Flying will make the plane more aerodynamic. But my friend said I do that because he is grounded by aeronautics bureaucracy. Processing a piece of paper that allows the pilot to fly that plane should take a day, maybe two days, perhaps three. Why on earth does it take

New government phone systems that use recorded messages are the bureaucrats' dream machines—they need never face us again

a month when so one is actually going out to look at the plane?

I put it all down to the advent of growing out servants these barely telephone systems where no human voice ever answers, only a recording that tells you to push a button for the service and push another digit for that one. When you have listened to the voice in the machine go through a lot of other requests, one finally reaches nothing but an answering machine. These telephone systems are the bureaucrats' dream machines—they need never face us again.

I keep from this is an analysis of Canada's state of health. The state system looks to be like a barometer damaged from reality by an inextinguishable telephone answering machine repeating the same wrong message: "Sorry, we're not available at the moment. We are being a constitutional crisis and can't come out to play." By now, even intelligent Canadians have concluded themselves that the trouble with Canada is the constitutional wrangle facing us over Quebec. This is madness. Quebec and the Constitution is the least significant problem Canada has, could only for distancing one's mind from reality.

Quebec is a province of several million peo-

ple with a very distinct culture which, if assimilated with Canada, would die. A lot of Quebecers have decided that they would like to keep their own ways—and let them. There is utterly no reason why Quebec cannot live happily forever in a trade association and commonwealth arrangement with Canada and the United States.

Canada itself happens to be a rather odd country. Messed with natural resources not really fixed by its industrial, political and religious elite. This elite has systematically allowed the country to fall into the grip of a society of social democratic states that have resolved in commonality and exploited our character. We have overplayed like drunken sailors in order to fill the sense of "entitlement" that our welfare-state society has created. We have become a country of leading special-interest groups to which money and resentment play more than their natural roles. Why did we develop this way, while our neighbor to the south did not? Perhaps if we understood that we might begin to correct the problem.

I can only think about it in broad strokes, and there must be many more subtle reasons. But it seems to me that one needs to go back to the nature of Canada. France had an empire that stretched from northern Quebec to Louisiana. The French and English struggle for dominance over this continent, and gradually the French were pushed back and conquered. What followed was a colonialist population character.

The United Empire Loyalists came to Canada. These people who chose to fight England in the American War of Independence rather than remain a loyal colony moved south. That left Canada with essentially two groups of people: one comprised of those who preferred the status of a colony to that of an independent country. Such people have different values to the jettison entrepreneurial society of the United States. We cherish the status quo, the safety net and any values that we see as opposite to those of America.

There are perfectly splendid values, but what has happened in this kind of case is too encompassing. We extended due safety on to compromise not simply the government's culture, but rather anyone who is second-rate. We would rather take care of the second-rate people than the first-rate people. This attitude, this apathy on every single level of Canadian life, from our education system to our law system.

One can't say that such an attitude is wrong. But if you renewed momentum and discourage excellence, this country can be no so successful. Mediocrity flourishes and runs in the top. One can hardly blame mediocre politicians, our frightened church leaders and a hapless intellectual establishment for enforcing this system—it works very well for them. The solution, I am sure, lies in the many Canadians under the age of 40 who are their hearts and minds that our glorification of mediocrity is, in the end, holding them and the country back.

But before you can answer the telephone and get on with business, you have to turn off the answering machine.

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Operation Solace: the 1990 Oka and Kahnawake cross stretched army resources to the limit

CANADA

THE UNTHINKABLE

The images of October, 1993, still simmer in the collective memory of Canadian politics. On Oct. 5 of that year, two members of the Front de libération du Québec kidnapped James Cross in Montreal. Five days later, another FdL cut off the highway to Quebec. Labor Minister Pierre Laporte flew to Montreal immediately—later mandating from his residence, on Oct. 25 a grant from Minister Pierre Trudeau began ordering armed troops to take up defensive positions around strategic buildings in Ottawa, Montreal and Quebec City. Now, 21 years later, Canadians are confronting the possibility that the federal government might once again have to sanction the military to defend Canadian interests against the actions of dedicated Quebec nationalists.

In Quebec, many commentators have dismissed any suggestion that the current army

IF THE ARMY WENT INTO QUEBEC, SOME CRITICS SAY THAT IT COULD NOT DEAL WITH NATIONALISM AND MASS UNREST

arms might lead to an armed struggle. Write Anne Dobson, chief editorial writer at *Montreal's* daily *La Presse*, on Nov. 29: "Quebecers are deeply worried by the reputation of the army and serious publications evoking the possibility of armed intervention against Quebec. Things

are sliding out of control." And *Canadian* columnist Allan Manning Joe Clark has declared that the federal government would never consider calling in the army to prevent Quebec's independence. Said Clark: "If separation occurs, we have to deal with that within the context of Canadian traditions, and those traditions do not involve the use of force." But in fact, according to some analysts, the most effective resistance to Canadian military action may not be any moral claims among political leaders, but the weakness of Canada's depleted armed forces. Said Alex Morrison, a former lieutenant-colonel in the Canadian military who now heads the Toronto-based Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies: "The military would not be able to suppress massive violence in two cities at once."

Still, military and political analysts say that several potential developments could make a military response difficult for Ottawa to avoid.

speaking Royal 22nd Regiment based at Valcartier, Que., to take up positions in several cities. Six years later, the government sent about 7,500 troops from across Canada to Montreal to help run the 1976 Olympics and to protect vital installations in case of terrorist attacks. And last year, at the request of the Quebec government, Ottawa deployed 4,000 servicemen, primarily from Quebec and Ontario, to defend armed standoffs with Mohawk Indians at Oka and the Kahnawake reserve near Montreal.

But the potential military actions in Quebec were under debate by some experts would play a very different role. In the event of Quebec acting as a popular desire for independence expressed as a general referendum, several observers have suggested the need to call in troops to protect areas of the province where strikers would not wish to leave Canada. For one thing, although many Anglophone Quebecers say that the army should never be called into Quebec, few think it is a realistic part of Canada could still trigger a military clash. Said Gregory Goggin, founder of the Anglophone separatist party Action Canada: "There will be parts of the province that do not want to follow the Parti Québécois, and those areas must be secured." And at a recent conference in Ottawa last month, Gerry Pelletier, chief of the Mohawk band at Oka, called on Clark to back the use of force to protect native lands in an independent Quebec. When Clark refused, the meeting erupted into angry as natives yelled, "What about Oka?"—a reference to the use of the Canadian army against the Mohawks.

The army may face other flash points as well, according to participants at a conference last month on the national security implications of the constitutional crisis. Co-sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies in Toronto, the conference heard from military analysts who warned of the potential problems. Among them the possibility that the army could become embroiled in suppressing violence between separatists and Canadian federalists in the wake of an independence vote. Some added that Quebec could also erupt within the armed forces themselves if the federal government decided that it had to disarm French-language military units. As well, the Mackenzie Institute's Thompson said that because the armed forces maintain their largest weapons depot in Montreal, even an unlikely scenario of the country's military interests could deteriorate into violent confrontation. Added Thompson: "Any attempt to remove the weapons might be interpreted as a plot to disarm Quebec."

Whether the Canadian armed forces could maintain sufficient manpower to undertake any of these missions, however, is the focus claim. The Institute of Strategic Studies' Morrison, for one, said that successive budget cuts have depleted Canada's military to the point where it would not be able to maintain the force required to carry out federal orders to suppress instances of massive civil unrest—wherever the might occur in Canada. According to defence department estimates, although Canada has about 85,000 men and women under arms, commanders could field no more than 5,000 troops at any one time to counter threats within the country itself.

Previous deployments of troops in Quebec support the contention that the army may be incapable of dealing with widespread unrest. Last year's Operation Solace at Oka and Kahnawake involved troops from Valcartier, as well as anti-aircraft, assault, air wing and several personnel carriers, supported by an array of other units. At that, said retired brigade-general William Yess, who was in charge of supply and services during the military deployment for the 1976 Olympic Games, Operation Solace severely strained the military's resources.

Had said that the Oka operation was small compared with the force that would be required to defend entire regions from invasion by an independent Quebec. Said Yess: "The force would have to be large enough to take the country's ground campaign would be. For that part, Morrison expressed doubt that the military could even maintain civil order in the face of widespread violence between English and French-speaking Quebecers.

The balance of power between English and French speaking units within the armed forces could further undermine the military's ability to take decisive action at Quebec. Since the formation of Lester Pearson created several French-speaking units within the armed forces in the 1960s, the number of francophone troops—mainly Québécois—at all three branches of the armed forces has doubled.

National Notes

LEYING FOUL

After receiving the record of House of Commons proceedings, Speaker John Fraser concluded that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney did not swear at another member of Parliament. The allegation arose when opposition MP accused Mulroney of calling Liberal MP David Walker a "fucking bastard" during Question Period. Several MPs said that they heard Mulroney utter the profanity after Walker accused him of withholding a US report on child poverty in order to have his picture taken with children in the Canadian embassy. Mulroney denied making the remarks, which was not visible on tapes of the session.

THORNHILL'S VINDICATION

At the request of the Crown, New Scotia Supreme Court Justice Thomas Baker threw out the last three of 17 fraud and forgery charges against M.A. Ronald Thornhill, a longtime provincial Conservative cabinet minister who now sits as an independent. The other 14 charges, related to loans that Thornhill negotiated in 1979, were dropped last month.

CLEARING THE WAY FOR WHITE

Labour leader Bob White's campaign for the presidency of the country's largest labour organization, the Canadian Labour Congress, gained a significant boost when a powerful potential rival, Ontario Federation of Labour president Gordon Wilson, declared that he will not run for the job.

HISTORIC CHANGES

Reversing a previous policy that dates back over 100 years, British Columbia's recently elected NDP government said that it recognizes the inherent right of native people to self-government.

RETURNING TO POWER

During a visit to Canada, depressed British president Jenni Bertland Armitage said that negotiations are under way that could enable him to return to power before Christmas. Armitage, who last year won Hart's first-term democratic presidential election, died on Sept. 30 after a coup.

NEW TEAM AT THE REINS

Dana Kilbray, a 44-year-old truck driver from Vancouver, declined Senator Edward Lawson, 62, to become Canada's 27th minister of transport with the North American Transport Union. Kilbray was part of a slate of candidates who came to power along with Ronald Cerco, who won the union presidency on a pledge to replace its anti-union stance with more open and democratic leadership.



Kennedy family at Hyannis Port, Mass., in 1962: confronting a complex fascination with the American equivalent of royalty

WORLD

BEYOND THE TRIAL

For the dynasty that once controlled the mythical American kingdom that Jacqueline Kennedy christened Camelot, it was a relatively happy ending, requiring no funeral or public eulogy. At 3:10 p.m., a tax-belonging twilight settled over the high society water haven of Palm Beach, Fla., as jurors filed back onto the benches of the county courtroom that they had left only 77 minutes before. In fact, they had reached unanimity on their final verdict before an hour—a quarter of an hour—a decision so swift that it took some time for the defendant and his lawyers to return from their temporary headquarters at his family estate, the same as the

THE SENSATIONAL WILLIAM KENNEDY SMITH CASE IN PALM BEACH PUT THE FOCUS ON THE DATE-RAPE ISSUE

alleged crime. As court clerk Deborah Allen read the jury's verdict, finding William Kennedy Smith not guilty of raping a 30-year-old single mother from nearby Jupiter in the early hours of March 30 last Easter weekend, Smith shed the judge's skepticism against shows of emotion. He stood up to embrace his lawyer, Miami attorney Roy Black. Then, outside the courtroom, blaring back terms, he expressed gratitude for the "gift of liberty"—a liberty which some commentators have declared cursed and which Black later claimed had been as much on trial as Smith himself. In the 10-day televised proceedings, Americans had seen again confronting their complex

fascination with the controversial clan that has become the United States' equivalent of royalty. And once again, the public wondering of the private Kennedy had been revealed—and decided—the nation's Kennedy supporters banded the outcome in a shared fervent vindication while opponents alleged prosecutor Maura Lueck had capitulated in failing to prove her case beyond a reasonable doubt. Some angry feminists termed the verdict yet another defeat in the increasingly bitter sexual debate. And many rape-crime counselors expressed concern that it would discourage other women from coming forward with accusations of date or acquaintance rape. But Ruth Joann, a staff attorney of the New York City-based National Organization for Women's Legal Defense and Education Fund, cautioned against drawing hasty conclusions from a rape trial where a witness wore the complainant's black-and-blue bra and was in front of an estimated three million TV viewers. Said Joann: "People need to know that if they press charges, they are not going to be in the end of media circus they saw here."

As Jones pointed out, there was nothing

biographic and constant tabloid headlines, most Americans could fill in the details of a family near lost they know as intimately as their own. For them, the controversial 1963 assassination of one brother, when the family still relied upon "the President," then the fatal shooting of another, Robert, on the night he was the California Democratic presidential primary five years later, had not only shattered the once-coveted Kennedy. They had also laid bare on the national psyche. In fact, just work in a post-mortem on the trial. Black noted that Lueck's paper misadventure had been magnifying the effect that Kennedy's testimony would have on the jurors. Said Black: "When he came in and sat in that witness box, they were looking at a piece of American history."

Still, most legal experts credited Smith's own luck to the stand with delivering him from a possible 40 years in prison. Despite the testimony of 15 witnesses, most jurors agreed that the case had come down to his version of events against that of his accuser. Her sibling account of her love to the Kennedy compound had been compelling. But she had left some-



Smith with another Jew: a family which some commentators have declared cursed

typical about a rape alleged to have occurred at a multimillion-dollar family compound once known as the Winter White House—nor one where key sexual encounters, described in differing levels detail, had supposedly taken place on the same lawn where President John F. Kennedy chose his cabinet in 1960. For 18 days, history haunted Room 413 like no unwed witness—especially when it showed its way through five scenarios that divided the testimony of Smith's uncle "Teddy" Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, the 50-year-old family patriarch who has become the emboldened of the reinstated Camelot legacy.

In a few times, sensational phrases Kennedy had evoked the family's extraordinary experience of tragedies. And when the senator's wife broke over the wreckage of his brother, Black decided to offer exact explanation. He'd by

passed many questions for which Smith offered an explanation in his testimony about a mutually agreed-upon sexual tryst. Among them, did not "involvement" when the rape of her boyfriend, but he claimed that she did so in her car in his family parking lot before they headed for the beach.

Long after the verdict, those titillating details were still being debated by a public privy to more information than the jurors. But more, Smith had won his case even before the trial opened when Judge Mary Lou Larson the testimony of those prosecution witnesses who claimed that he had sexually assaulted them in various circumstances. But even those claims proved contradictory—another illustration of the maddeningly legal terms of date rape. In one sworn deposition, a fellow student of Washington's Georgetown University, where Smith

World Notes

A KOREAN BREAKTHROUGH

North and South Korea agreed a non-aggression pact, the first major political agreement between the hostile neighbors since the peninsula was divided at the end of the Second World War. The pact provides for acceptance of each country's differing social and economic systems and calls for the resumption of the 10 million family members separated by the 1948-1953 Korean War, as which 312 Canadian members of a 100,000 force were killed.

CHALLENGING RUSH

Conservative commentator Patrick Buchanan announced that he will challenge George Bush for the 1992 Republican presidential nomination. Buchanan, 53, was an aide to three Republican presidents: Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford and Ronald Reagan. His campaign, based on nationalism and limited government, could force Bush to the political right.

A QUEST FOR PEACE

After three days of negotiations in Washington, the parties in the Middle East peace process agreed to continue their discussions next week. The Israeli, Syrian, Lebanese and Jordanian-Palestinian teams reported some progress in their second round of secret talks.

PACIFYING OFFSHORE

As the family of detained dissident Aung San Suu Kyi accepted her 1990 Nobel Peace Prize in Norway, police in Myanmar (formerly Burma) arrested pro-democracy demonstrators at Yangon University. Aung San Suu Kyi's National League for Democracy won a general election in 1990, but Myanmar's military junta refused to hand over power and arrested most of the league's leaders.

MARCO'S ON TRIAL

In a March court, Brazil's Marcos pleaded not guilty to seven charges of tax evasion, the first of about 80 civil and criminal charges against the former Philippine first lady. Marcos, the 64-year-old son of former Philippine President Marcos, returned to the Asian nation last month after nearly six years in exile. The charges carry a combined maximum sentence of more than 460 years in prison.

DESTROYING A SUPERGUN

The leader of a 100-person team in Iraq said that Baghdad has dismantled its Desert Storm G, a 1,000-ton cannon built in Iraq shells more than 600 miles. The gun designer, Colonel Sadr, ordered engineer Gerald Hall, was shot to death by an unknown assassin in Brussels last year.

received his medical degree in May, recovered a lawsuit 1988, even when she was so drunk that she fell into his car home although she "never particularly liked him." She said that there, too, misperception to object, she watched him do a condom before she joined sex. She added that the next morning, despite Smith's courtship, she showed and stayed for breakfast until he vowed her all with a commitment, "See ya."

In his statement, it was not clear whether she was sleeping in a date rape or of being a call, the same shortcoming. Smith seemed really to admit to the witness stand. In his return of events, after the alleged victim had called him Michael and demanded to see his driver's license when he argued that he was not his name, he said that he began to regard her as "a and out." Following two couplings that Smith portrayed as consensual, he did little to hide his eagerness to battle her all the family property. Legal experts said that the law is so far behind in forced sex and active legislation that prosecutors seldom bring date-rape cases to trial and, if they do, they seldom win. And some women's rights activists expressed concern that men might misuse Smith's acquittal as open license to forced sex. In any low-profile case, they argued, activists might not have tried so hard to impose sweeping social implications. Said an enraged Jones: "We don't matter so much that a Kennedy is sued."

But on both Black and Lash, made clear last week the Kennedy family mirrored very much indeed. In her closing argument, Lash re-



Edward Kennedy with son Patrick, wife and women

of the jury that "no one is above the law—there is no immunity, no discussion of the law." And only a day earlier, Lash had presented a 10-minute cross-examination of the 31-year-old defendant with the withering observation, "You know you can always count on your

family, don't you, Mr. Smith?" He replied: "If you think my family is trying to protect me, you're dead wrong."

But Lash's success may have sprung from an experience that had little to do with the Smith case. In 1984, she had watched a senior colleague undergo a judge's impassioned tirade during "what the Kennedy's want you to do" in court against the death of one of Smith's cousins, David Kennedy. The troubled son of former attorney general Robert Kennedy, he had died from a drug overdose at a Palm Beach motel during another traditional family weekend at the family compound.

Lash reportedly vowed not to be intimidated by the same massive family machine. For an estimated \$1 million in legal fees, expert testimony to Smith's inheritance from his father's death last year, that machine had already provided him with six high-profile lawyers, three private investigators and a public relations consultant. In addition, there was a parade of Kennedy relatives to take hours tending moral support from the courtroom benches. Last spring, Lash began peppering Smith's personal hearings with accusations of media manipulation. And during one motion to bar a longtime Kennedy attorney from the case, she bombarded a book chronicling his role as the alleged covering of the incident that had accused out: Edward Kennedy's presidential hopes. The scorching 10-hour delay in reporting his 1969 car accident on a bridge on Massachusetts' Capequid Island, after which his brother's former campaign worker, Mary Jo Kopechne, drowned. After last week's trial, Black accused Lash of trying to punish the whole Kennedy

family, don't you, Mr. Smith?" He replied: "If you think my family is trying to protect me, you're dead wrong."

prosecution from Senator's group, Campbell attacked a legal definition of consent as "the voluntary agreement of the complainant to engage in the sexual activity in question." As well, the bill limits the ability of rape defendants to claim that they mistakenly believed that their victims had agreed to have sex by listing examples of where consent clearly does not exist. These include when the victim is too intoxicated to give or withhold consent, when a third person consents to sex on behalf of the victim, or when the victim is coerced into sex by someone in a position of authority.

For women's activists like Helena Oates, director of litigation for the Toronto-based Women's Legal Education and Action Fund, the new bill puts to rest what she called "stereotypes and myths" about women's sexual conduct. As a result, she said, it should serve as a powerful tool in making sure that fewer rapists escape punishment.

BRIAN BERGMAN

family in her case against Smith. "They put Will on trial," he said, "but they really wanted to prosecute Ted."

For a time, it appeared that Lash might be succeeding. As the allegations against Smith raised questions about Kennedy's own behavior, the specter of Claggett's misconduct. Once more, all the elements of another star-crossed family melodrama seemed to be in place: wine, women and appetites so hot that Kennedy had released his nephew and son Patrick, 24, at 2 a.m. to go drinking at Au Bar, the Palm Beach nightclub where Smith's fatal meeting with the alleged victim took place. Once again, there were sinister intimations of a political vendetta against the Kennedys, this time by the alleged victim's multifarious supporters—and a coverup. Lash's office opened an investigation into a possible obstruction of justice.

The controversy came in the wake of a damaging media account chronicling Kennedy's rocky marriage to a Capitol Hill politician. It depicted a blighted husband whose personal life was as a villainous comic with his public stature as the Senate's liberal standard-bearer. And in his Massachusetts stronghold, his popularity ratings steadily plummeted, inspiring Republicans to talk of mounting a serious challenge against him in 1994. But Kennedy's lowest point arrived in October. After years of championing women's rights, he was forced by his own tarnished romantic reputation to sit silent during the Senate's inquiry into sexual-harassment allegations against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas—jeopardizing syndicated commentator Dave Barry to describe him as "the first senator to sit through three days of hearings with a hang over his head."

That month, with a week to go before jury selection in Smith's trial, Kennedy sent the backdrop of the Harvard political institute named for John F. Kennedy to deliver an awkward acknowledgment of the "shortcomings, the limits in the conduct of my private life." He added: "I realize that I alone am responsible." By the time Lash called him to testify, he had gained only 25 lb. and cut back on his drinking. And some supporters, including former Kennedy White House spokesman Frank Munroe, predicted that Smith's accessional would "certainly talk—and maybe stop dead in its tracks—the pack psychology that the Kennedy men are on."

In fact, it is unlikely that Americans will so eagerly relinquish their romance with a family that has provided so much vicarious emotion and glamour. But as Chicago historian Gary Wills pointed out in *The Kennedy Enigma*, and as both Smith and his alleged victim may agree as they struggle to break the chains that loogie over their reputations in the coming months, that romance may have taken its heaviest toll on those gladdened made the foil of the gilded duty tale. Then, happily-ever-after have proved to be a consciousness shift supply.

MARCI McDONALD

The Velvet Touch.

Black Velvet.
The Smooth One.

DETERMINING 'NO MEANS NO'

The announcement was made just yesterday at the television spectacle of the William Kennedy Smith rape trial held in Scottsdale in Florida. Justice Minister Kim Campbell unveiled legislation in Ottawa that, if passed, would dramatically change the ground rules for trying sexual-assault cases in Canada. In an echo of the general view in the Smith case, Campbell's proposed new law would legally define for the first time in Canada what constitutes consent to sex. The proposed bill also states that a rape victim's sexual history is "irrelevant" to a trial, and would severely limit when it may be used as evidence in court. Women's groups applauded Campbell's bill as a major step forward. Declared Judy Hebb, president of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women:

"We have a bill that says 'No means no'... In part, the legislation is Campbell's response to the Supreme Court of Canada which on Aug. 23 struck down Section 271 of the Criminal Code—the so-called rape-shield bill—that protected defence lawyers in most cases from asking victims about their past relations with anyone other than the accused. The court ruled that the 1983 law violated a defendant's right to a fair trial—and urged Parliament to pass a new law that would balance the rights of both the accused and the victim. The new bill requires judges to weigh the admissibility of evidence in sexual history according to set criteria. Among them: whether the information could be crucial in resolving the case, and the risk that it "may unfairly arouse sentiments of prejudice, sympathy or hostility in the jury." The judge would assess the evidence at a pre-trial hearing that excluded both the jury and the public, then provide a written account of the reasons for the ruling.

But the legislation goes well beyond the challenge issued by the Supreme Court. Under

PAIRS SKATING AT ITS BEST

THE BEARS OF THE STADIUM

When Isabelle Brousseau was asked her long-term goals at national team training camps, her response was always the same: to participate in the 1989 Olympic Winter Games and to win the gold medal in 1992. The pudgy skater saw her first goal realized when she and partner Lloyd Eisler skated to ninth place in Calgary,



Michelle Phoenix and Kevin Winkler

just months after they had been paired up. Now, a few months before pursuing long-term goal number two, the 1991 World silver medalists are working hard on their gold medal routine.

does a double lateral over. While she's in the midst of the horizontal spinning, he has enough time to drop his hands to his sides and wait for her to fall into his arms. The fact that they have the best lifts in the world has much to do with their height and weight disparities. That, and trust.

The pair, coached by Josée Picard and Eric Gilletta, wore a hometown crowd in Halifax at the 1989 Worlds when they skated to a silver medal. At the 1991 Worlds, they were heavily favored to win the gold in Munich, but an atrocious game of

pickup hockey resulted in ligament damage in Eisler's knee when he slid into a goal post. The injury left little time to train

before the Worlds, but with a brace to support his left leg, Eisler skated with his usual bravado, power and strength. However, he angled a double jump, a move that few people, not even his coaches, noticed. Several of the eagle-eyed judges caught it, though, and marked accordingly. The innovative Soviet pair of Natalia Makhatoniuk and Artur Dmitriyev gained the necessary extra edge, and



Christine Hough and Doug Ladret

the Canadians had to settle for silver once again.

"We should have had more jumps in the program, but we couldn't get them



Isabelle Brousseau and Lloyd Eisler

in due to very little training at the last minute," says Picard. "We've beaten the Soviets before, and we won the original program in Munich, but they skated the performance of their lives in the long program and won. We've had more time to train this year and while our short program will be worth the same, a fun and happy program, our long program promises to be more original."

Eisler had surgery last June and three weeks later joined Brousseau in Boucherville, Quebec for the start of many months of intensive training. To qualify for one of the three pairs spots on the Olympic team, they must get through upcoming domestic and national championships. Three pairs are eligible because Canada had one medalist — Brousseau and Eisler — and another pair —

Stacey Ball and Jean-Michel Bombardier — placing in the top 10 at the 1991 Worlds.

Ball is one of those very talented skaters who can't seem to make up her mind between skating in singles, pairs or fours competition. At last year's national championships, she competed in all three, but the fours aren't yet on the Olympic agenda, and with an English place for her and Bombardier at their first Worlds last year, the answer seems obvious. The

two best out Canada's veteran team of Christine Hough and Doug Ladret, who placed 11th, despite placing behind them at the national championships one month earlier.

For this energetic young pair, who are also coached by Picard and Gilletta, 1992 presents a chance to keep those international judges impressed and it straggled. In an event where the male is usually larger, Ball and Bombardier are very close in size.

"They can't do as many tricks because of her height as far as lifts go, but we tend to play a lot on our similarities. Union, for example, comes much easier for them," explains Picard.

The Royal Bank Canadian Figure Skating Championships, January 15-16, will decide which pairs secure spots on Canada teams. Competition will be tough, and each performance will be very different. Hough and Ladret, for example, who are coached by Kerry Leitch out of Kitchener, Ontario, captured the audience in Munich last year with their short program's slapstick comedy routine, repeating the first time such a routine had been presented in world competition. Another pair from the Leitch school vying for a spot is Michelle Merzues and Kevin

Whitlen. Whiterlen overcame adversity last year when he rebounded from an operation that removed a benign tumor from his leg. The two, who are known for their technical expertise, were not supposed to skate at the Nationals, but did and walked away with a fourth place, narrowly missing a berth on the World team.

And then there's Marie-Claude Savard Gagnon and Jo Bradet, who placed sixth at their

inaugural senior nationals last year, after recovering from injuries and only training for one month. In their training this year, according to Picard, they're landing throw quadruple jumps, and recently beat Ball and Bombardier.

With a move like this, loaded with talent, the Canadians are sure to make some noise in Albertville.



Stacey Ball and Jean-Michel Bombardier

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ROYAL BANK

Freedom's Year

HOPE—AND CHAOS—FILL GORBACHEV'S FINAL DAYS

His book office in March, 1985, a charismatic reformer who humanized the stark face of Soviet communism had made the words *glasnost* and *perestroika* part of the world's vocabulary. He coached off a stumpie to freedom—one that would eventually triangle up his own political career and break up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Last week, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev appeared to be little more than yesterday's man. After two days of talks in Belarussian Brest-Litovsk—meetings from which Gorbachev was possibly excluded—three powerful republics as leaders emerged to declare that the U.S.S.R. was dead. At week's end, five Asian republics had agreed in principle to join a new commonwealth, seemingly igniting the rest of Gorbachev's dream. The dramatic change began when the presidents of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus created a loose Slavic commonwealth encompassing about 55 per cent of the old union's population of 280 million—and most of its vast nuclear arsenal. Initially, an angry Gorbachev argued that three leaders were could not dissolve the union. But as it became clear that other republics would likely seek commonwealth membership, he edged closer to joining the stage that he had once dismissed. "My lack's work is over," Gorbachev told Soviet reporters in the Kremlin. "I have done the best that I could."

Gorbachev's humbling position as the president of a defunct state is a byproduct of the political fire-storm that has overwhelmed the old union over the past year. Across the vast regions, Communist governments have begged as last as statues of founder Vladimir Lenin. Long-suppressed nationalist forces achieved sovereignty; the once-mighty KGB state police force has crumbled; and the once-mutual nuclear has resented it all. And when Russia and military leaders turned to lay back the clock last August, their short-lived coup led instead to the collapse of party rule. The pursuit of freedom always carried the inherent risk of anarchy. And now, Gorbachev's old ally, Russian leader Boris Yeltsin, has emerged as the pentagonist leader of the dismantling lead—and the only man with an apparent hope of spearheading a successful consensus from communists to free-market democracy.

For the moment, at theory at least, as the supreme military commander Gorbachev is still in charge of the Soviet nuclear arsenal of more than 27,000 warheads. And in repeated assurances to a nervous world, the few republics with long-range missiles on their soil have stressed that those strategic weapons and smaller tactical arms will remain under some form of centralized control (page 20). But those security promises have been vague and often contradictory, heightening concern about the lack or clandestine sale of atomic warheads in a country that is already torn by ethnic violence and internal border conflicts (page 27).

Western nations reacted cautiously to the high-speed changes in the old Soviet Union. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, before leaving on a weekend trip to Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan, emphasized

that the Americans would not try to "inject ourselves into this purely political process" unfolding in the republics. And External Affairs Minister Boris McDonnell told reporters that Ottawa welcomed the new Slavic commonwealth—although she stopped short of pronouncing the old union dead. "The Soviet Union is evolving into a new format," she said. "And the changes we see are positive." Bernard Wood, director of the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security, said that the West would remain flexible. "Flexible" said Wood. "I think anyone who does have a rigid policy right now would be in trouble, because we are seeing some of the most important, far-reaching and unpredictable changes that the international community has seen in the past century."

Disenfranchised Against such an ominous backdrop, many analysts voiced dire predictions. Eugene Pravdin, the director of the Soviet foreign intelligence service, a former branch of the discredited KGB, warned that the country's disintegrated social had distribution networks were close to complete collapse. "There there could be civil uprisings," he added. "There is a possibility that at the beginning of next year, the people may reach their breaking point."

Those people have certainly been tried over the past 12 months, making a roller coaster of exhilarating new freedoms and accompanying institutions piling atop the depressing familiar daily grind of finding



enough to eat. One year ago, at a time when Gorbachev had surrounded himself with hard-line conservatives, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze announced his resignation in a dramatic speech that warned of impending catastrophe. Less than a month later, the KGB launched a campaign of force, intimidation and harassment in the independence-seeking Baltic states. Clashes between soldiers and civilians claimed 21 lives in Lithuania and Latvia as military units seized such public institutions as the main television transmission tower at the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius. Republican president Vytautas Landsbergis responded by refusing to leave the legislature building, where hundreds of concrete blocks offered little more than symbolic protection against any armed assault. Despite that overwhelming analysis of force, Lithuania's Vilnius East, despite to withdraw its March, 1990, declaration of independence.

Weapons In Moscow and Leningrad (now St. Petersburg) last winter, a loose coalition of demonstrators and reformers were hawking the lessons of the events in Vilnius and the Latvian capital of Riga: massive peaceful resistance could be a powerful weapon against overbearing authority. On March 26, a crowd of more than 100,000 pro-democracy supporters marched through the streets of Moscow. They failed to reach the Kremlin, but they did exercise their right of assembly—despite the menacing presence of 50,000 soldiers and policemen. Gorbachev, shocked by troops enforcing his law as demonstrations in the city center, appeared cut off from the reformers who had once been his strongest supporters.

Then, in June, the Soviet Union's experiment with democracy took another step forward when voters in the giant Russian republic chose Yeltsin as the first popularly elected leader in its 1,000-year history of the state. Yeltsin could then claim an important distinction over Gorbachev: while his political echelon owed his position to elite Communist party members, Yeltsin had won a general election. This qualification served Yeltsin well in August, when an eight-man junta disposed Gorbachev and sent tanks rolling towards the Russian legislature. St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoly Sobchak argues that it was Yeltsin's endorse-

ment by the voters, and not his concept of delivering a speech from atop a tank dispatched by the junta, that made him the focus for resistance to the storm-laid coup. Later, revealed in the glow of victory, Yeltsin claimed that all of Russia had risen against a bungled attempt to re-impose the Kremlin's authority—despite the fact that only 150,000 people out of Moscow's eight million residents actually turned out.

Still, the people who gathered outside their elected officials included many members of the country's rapidly expanding young generation, as well as housewives who saw respect in the re-emergence of communism. In addition, the Baltic states vigorously opposed the junta, which included such powerful officials as the *litvian defense minister*, the prime minister and the chairman of the KGB. Perhaps most crucially, the majority of soldiers quietly declined to answer the coup leaders' call to arms. As a result, the coup quickly collapsed; communism itself soon crumbled, as well. During those heady August days, Yeltsin's republican government restored Czar Peter the Great's tricolor as Russia's national flag.

Drinking The end of seven decades of Communist rule has also intensified other nationalisms that had been checked by the reformers of Soviet uniformity, the Red Army and the omnipresent secret police. The Baltic states rejected the independence that they had lost in 1940, leaving the union with good wishes from Estonia. For the Russian president, seeking to salvage some form of loose union, the key republic was Ukraine, the nation's breadbasket. And when Ukrainians roared overwhelmingly for independence from Moscow on Dec. 2, Yeltsin sprang into action. One week later, he granted over a so-called Slavic summit at a remote hunting lodge near Belarus's border with Poland. Maintaining the dizzying rate of political change, he has become a cosmopolitan at the former union, Yeltsin emerged over two days of intensive discussion with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Belarus's leader, Stanislav Shushkevich, and announced the formation of a new confederation.

Shushkevich's Dec. 8 declaration about the Commonwealth of Independent States shared some elements of Gorbachev's plan for a loose

Gorbachev, Yeltsin, Kravchuk in Vilnius (opposite): heightening concern about the status of ethnic warheads in a country torn by ethnic violence and internal conflicts

union, both stressed unified control over the country's nuclear weapons, as well as a coordinated foreign policy and a common economic zone. But the Slavic broke the plan, which the Asian republics later endorsed, including no provision for a central government—and no presidential chair for Gorbachev. Said Kravchuk: "There is no place for a central body above the states. It encourages only a centralizing bias, followed by the so-called 'super states.'" And it is clear that to suppress widespread non-Russian suspicions about continued domination by Moscow, the commonwealth's administrative line centre is to be located at the capital of Tbilisi, Minsk.

Disintegration: In Moscow, Russian legislators were quick to approve the pact after Yeltsin warned them that the commonwealth represented the final chance to halt "the anarchic disintegration of our nation's common space." The parliaments of Belarus and Ukraine also approved the accord. And the original members of the commonwealth eventually permitted Kazakhstan's president, Nursultan Nazarbayev, the fourth republic's leader, leave to have nuclear weapons on his territory, to join the fledgling association. They were able to do so by promising to make him, retroactively, a founding member of the new commonwealth.

Nazarbayev then helped to persuade four other Asian republics, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, to abandon Gorbachev's failed pursuit of a new union treaty and consider terms for joining the commonwealth. The group of five has a total population of



Yeltsin supporters mounting barricade: assurances to a nervous world

dealing with equal measures of democracy and chaos spreading across the country. Now, it has fallen to Yeltsin and his republican colleagues to heed Gorbachev's warning about the perils of delay.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow with JAMES STEVENSON in Ottawa

nearly 56 million. And three other republics, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Moldova (total population 15.6 million), have indicated that they will likely join the new commonwealth. Only the southern republic of Georgia, while congratulating the three Slavic leaders on their landmark, stopped short of announcing an intention to come on board.

Now, as the citizens of the former Soviet Union await a winter that will severely test their commitment to democracy, few if they had kind words for the men whose attempts to transform Soviet communism had brought about its collapse. Despite Gorbachev's dualist reputation abroad, the flood short-appeared nearly worthless conspiracy that characterized his era at home overestimated the increased freedoms that have also flourished under his

"Life promises those who are late," the Soviet president told Boris Yeltsin in 1989 as he urged the leader of what was then East Germany to undertake nearly needed reforms. But neither man heeded that advice. Last week, Yeltsin had taken refuge in Gorbachev's embrace in Moscow, the protection from German extradition, once provided by the Soviet president, had vanished with the seat of Gorbachev's dwindling powers. The Gorbachev years were

marked by the 12 countries—with Britain again standing dramatically aside—agreed to set common European standards in social affairs and labor relations. Although the accords fall far short of establishing the so-called United States of Europe that some leaders had once dreamed, they set the EC as a course towards much closer union.

But some Eastern leaders, the new power vacuum in the East was another compelling reason that the EC should draw closer together. The collapse of the old Soviet Union, noted French Foreign Minister Pierre Bérégovoy, has left the world with only one superpower, the United States. "Europe must be able to balance the power of America," said Bérégovoy. "And to do that, it must develop its own political identity." Added British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd: "The sooner we can put this award-lacking exercise over, the better."

ANDREW FRILLIPS in Washington

Nuclear Nightmares

THE MASSIVE SOVIET ARSENAL MAY NOT BE SECURE

Scattered across the vast landscape from the Polish frontier to the Sea of Japan are enough nuclear weapons to destroy life on earth. For decades, that doomsday machine was controlled by the leaders of a united, Moscow-centred Soviet Union and assigned to the care of an obedient, disciplined military. But with the Soviet Union's collapse, its leaders repudiated the world's largest nuclear arsenal—and no one is clearly in charge of the arsenal's fate. Last week, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus thrice formally pledged a new

than 27,000 strategic and tactical nuclear warheads when the republics began the race for independence after the abortive right-wing coup against President Mikhail Gorbachev on Aug. 19. More than 34,000 of the weapons are believed to be in the three commonwealth-founding republics. An additional 3,800 are located in Kazakhstan. U.S. government officials claim that there are no nuclear weapons currently outside these four republics. But Robert Norris, a senior analyst for the Nuclear Resources Defense Council, a New York City-based public-affairs



Soviet SS-25 missile: Western experts warn about an uprising

commonwealth and agreed that the nuclear weapons on that would remain under unified control. And the other republics, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, gave their conditional approval to the commonwealth on Friday after a overnight television debate. But many Western politicians and defense analysts said that rapid political change could imperil nuclear security. The situation, said Robert Gates, director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, "is deeply unstable."

Compex: Although President George Bush and his senior aides said publicly last week that they had received assurances from the Soviets that the nuclear weapons were secure, other experts appeared to be more skeptical. Soviet, British and American specialists speculated about the likelihood of a power-vacuum springing apart the fledgling commonwealth, perhaps from within the armed forces. They also worried that terrorists could steal tactical nuclear weapons and that unemployed Soviet nuclear scientists might sell their skills to Third World leaders bent on conquest.

Western military experts estimate that the Soviet Union had more

group told Moscow's that nearly 1,300 tactical nuclear weapons are in the remaining eight republics. U.S. officials, and Norris, see "burying everything in time and under cover of night's hours, but I don't believe they knew where every last weapon is."

Strategic weapons are used in intercontinental weapons—on boats, or on missiles stored in deep silos or deployed on submarines. Tactical warheads are primarily for battlefield use as artillery shells or battlefield missiles. The estimated 12,000 strategic weapons are of two immediate concern to the West, said Terry Rodd, a senior associate at the Ottawa-based Canadian Centre for Arms Control and Disarmament, because they are equipped with carefully controlled electromagnetic locks and employ a complex operational technology that few people outside the military would know how to use.

More than half of the Soviet nuclear warheads are in relatively old tactical weapons, which have never been involved in any of the U.S.-Soviet arms-control agreements and which, experts say, would be much easier to seize and use. Said Henry Danks, an expert on the Soviet

A LOOMING EASTERN THREAT

Since 1945, governments in Western Europe have directed their military strategy towards countering the menacing threat of a mobilized Soviet Union. But with the current leaders of the 12 eastern European governments replaced last week in the Dutch town of Maastricht to hammer out new treaties binding their countries more tightly, they faced a strikingly different danger from the East: an army of unstable new states in place of the familiar old Soviet Union. The EC immediately called on Russia, Ukraine and Belarus (formerly Byelorussia), members of the newly declared Commonwealth of Independent States, to ensure the safety of Soviet nuclear weapons, respect human rights and uphold debt obligations undertaken by the now crum-

pled Soviet centre. Underlying these declarations in Maastricht was a pronounced concern that the warring chaos in Eastern Europe could damage the West's prosperity. Said German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher: "Things will go well in Europe if there is the long-term of the situation in Europe, a first step will be."

Still, EC states like other Western countries, could do little but watch as the Soviet system collapsed. The EC dispatched a fact-finding team to the new commonwealth and agreed to send an extra \$200 million in emergency food aid to the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad). But the 12 leaders were mostly preoccupied with how to make newly rich Western Europe even richer. At their three-day summit, they agreed to adopt a single European currency by 1999 at the latest—while giving Britain the right to opt out of the accord. They also agreed on closer co-operation in foreign and security policies and on strengthening police co-operation. As well, 11 of

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WORLD/COVER

military for Britain's authoritarian *Jan's* Defense Ministry. "I don't see how there is a very little protection of these systems. What was seen all of us is that it may no longer be in our hands to get on the hotline to Moscow and say, 'We have a nuclear problem.'"

That was clearly a concern widely shared last week in the West. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that it was important for the republics to proceed carefully "because we really do run the risk of seeing a situation caused there not unlike what we have seen in Yugoslavia—with nuclear weapons thrown in." And Gorbachev, testifying before the House Armed Services Committee, said that although the newly independent Soviet republics had neither the desire nor the ability to threaten U.S. security, he feared that food and fuel shortages and ethnic conflicts could "produce the most significant and dangerous side effect of the Bolshevik consolidated power" in 1917.

random last week, a defense ministry spokesman said. "A sight of the armed forces is not at the question." But Lithuania President Leonas Kruskevich has said repeatedly that his republic would have its own army—even though the newly created defense ministry consists merely of the minister, Konstantas Mironov, and a few aides. Kruskevich had pledged to create a nuclear-free Lithuania. But after signing the commonwealth accord with Russia and Belarus, he proposed that the weapons remain, although under the joint control of the three republics.

Lithuanian Minister, Viktor Stropas, a former nuclear submarine officer who is now director of U.S. Partnership for Peace, warned that some members of the military officer corps "believe as a matter of course: they are like lost sheep and if the right shepherd isn't there to lead, they'll shoot." Generally Trekhovskiy, a retired army colonel who now writes a column for a Kiev newspaper, and that field commanders of the



However, Baku said late last week that both Kravchenko and republic leaders had told him that nuclear weapons will be handled with the "maximum amount of safety." Said Baku: "I am overly to the American people the assurances we have been given have been very positive." And earlier in the week, Robert Strauss, the U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, told an American-Soviet relations group that "we have not heard one derogatory, disparaging report" about the Soviet nuclear arsenal. Said Strauss: "Every-

one says we need a unified control and we will co-operate in getting it."

Part of the Western uncertainty over Soviet nuclear weapons arises from the fact that no one seems to know who is in charge of the 37-suffice warheads stored in places that have custody of the weapons. After Russian President Boris Yeltsin met with senior military com-

25 million troops in Ukraine "will enjoy the legitimate authorities, but they don't say which ones," Viktor Kravchenko of the U.S. and Canada Institute said in Moscow that the army retained the only open Soviet and loyal political forces in what was left of the country, although he added that it harbored "young groups, some of them underground."

However, he added, if the commonwealth held together, the troops would probably support it because only "the republics are able to get the army...Gorbachev cannot even do that." It was a stark assessment of just how far the once-mighty army, and its once-omnipotent leader, had fallen.

RAE COXWELL with **CHAD BELLON**
in Moscow. **HELENE MACKENZIE** in
Washington. **MARY NEWBY** in Toronto
and correspondents reports.



Armenians battling Azerbaijanis: the Bolsheviks managed only to suppress—but not eliminate—ancient quarrels

autonomy or outright independence. And leaders that the Kremlin actively endorse during the Communist era are sparking conflicts across the old empire.

Last last week in the western republic of Moldova, tensions between the Russian-speaking majority and other Russians and Ukrainians who make up 26 per cent of the republic's population of 4.3 million, erupted in bloodshed. In the first major confrontation this year, republic police clashed with Russian soldiers in a February 46 km northeast of the capital, Kishinev, leaving at least five people dead. Moldova, made up largely of the former Romanian province of Bessarabia that was incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940, declared independence on Aug. 27. But then Russia and Ukrainians have proclaimed a republic on the east bank of the Dniester River and declared their succession from Moldova.

In the troubled Caucasus, meanwhile, largely Christian Armenians and predominantly Muslim Azerbaijanis have come close to shooting war over Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian enclave that lies entirely within Azerbaijan territory. In a referendum last week, Nagorno-Karabakh voted overwhelmingly for independence—and applied for membership in the new Commonwealth of Independent States declared by Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. (Formerly Byelorussia.) In northern Georgia, meanwhile, only the presence of Soviet senior military troops stands between Georgian progovernment and nearly 100,000 Muslims in disputed South Ossetia. The Ossetians argue that their ancestors acted 200 years ago, but Georgians refuse that their forefathers were the last in 1921, is wrong for their support of the Bolshevik cause.

Hate Of Ages

NATIONALIST VIOLENCE IS SPREADING

When angry tax drivers conspired on Moscow farmers' markets in October, they overpowered police stands and beat vendors suspected for the murder of a Russian child. The dead man's colleagues said that the killer was a *chikni* (black), a word that among Slavs was to express their dislike of non-Slavs from southern republics. The drivers later acknowledged that they raped the markets because they are controlled by Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians, who are unpopular with many Moscovites because of the high prices that they charge. Local authorities condemned the attacks and rebuffed the drivers' demand that all citizens from Caucasian republics be deported from the Soviet capital. But that had little effect on the nationalist feelings and ethnic violence there have become increasingly common in the disintegrating Soviet Union.

At the dawn of the Communist era in 1917, the Bolsheviks clearly hoped to eliminate such ancient quarrels and prejudices when they seized power over the czar's peasant empire. Soviet founder Vladimir Lenin endorsed the concept of *Shovinizm* (Soviet Marx)—a notion which first largely would be to the U.S.S.R. But under Josef Stalin, that theory largely took the form of repression of religious beliefs, ethnic cultures and national loyalties that might undermine his rule. Despite mass repressions and execution during the 1930s and 1940s, the forces of nationalism survived and eventually propelled the breakup of the old union this year.

Across Soviet Central Asia's five republics, meanwhile, a Muslim revival is rousing the region's 50 million residents towards civil wars with nearby foes. Most of the 12 former Soviet republics are facing demands from smaller national groups within their borders for greater

ethnic area more than 200 years ago, but Georgians refuse that their forefathers were the last in 1921, is wrong for their support of the Bolshevik cause.

Risk Russian President Boris Yeltsin's vast republic, containing more than 100 ethnic groups, has encountered similar problems. In November, Chechnya-Upskistan, a largely Muslim area with 1.3 million inhabitants and four large cities, declared its independence from Russia. Within days, had 700 soldiers to maintain its authority over the boy region. But that move prompted widespread criticism. "It is clear," wrote the daily newspaper *Kommunisticheskaya Pravda*, "that the process of disintegration cannot be stopped by force without the risk of turning away from democracy and returning to an empire." The Russian legislature overruled the country's emergency of emergency rule and voted to begin discussions on the territory's future. Still, at the height of that crisis, Moscovites received a chilling warning of ethnic-segregist violence when Chechen leader Dzhokhar Dudayev threatened thousands against people in the city's subway system unless Russia recognized his republic's independence.

Despite formal treaties, Communist-era leaders, however, the republics that contain the seeds of future conflicts. Yeltsin has quick to recognize Ukraine's Dec. 1 independence vote, and the warring Russian acceptance of the central frontier with its neighbor. But many Russians complain about Ukraine's administrative control over Crimea, a Black Sea resort area that the Soviet government ceded from Russia in 1954. The Kremlin's power to make such military decisions has weakened. And now, the people of the old union must grapple with long-suppressed problems—without recourse to the imposed solutions of communism.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

A Year Of Revolution

THREE SUMMER DAYS TURNED HISTORY UPSIDE DOWN

The year that President George Bush marked out as the beginning of a new world order opened to the detriment of war-torn and still-powerless in the Middle East, a war that resolved neither dispute. The year brought celebration of freedom regained by hostages in Middle Eastern hostilities—crises that persist. But the images that stamp 1991 as a year that will live in history—what color the world's future—are of conflict played out. Armadas won and battles lost in the Soviet Union. The new Soviet revolution turned 20th-century history upside down.

Seldom has the fall of a global power been so sudden. Not since the 10 days that shook the world in the Soviet revolution of 1917 has a regime collapsed so swiftly. With the demise of the union went the first Communist camp's founding ideal of building a classless, classless society. It was noted that, despite its corruption by Kremlin tyrants, helped to shape a century. It was swept aside in a surge of ethnic nationalism that shattered the Soviet Union, after splintering George's Communist bloc in 1989.

The year that divided, moved, religions and language groups selected societies around the world. It provoked civil war in Yugoslavia. It was the main suspect in the assassination of India's Rajiv Gandhi in May. It set Russia against Shiite Muslims, and Arab against Kurd, in the wake of the Gulf War.

In that war, the American-led fight to drive Iraq troops out of Kuwait created other images of conflict. It involved the armed forces of more nations than any conflict since the Second World War. Never

before had a battle zone been hit by such a stunning array of computer-guided weapons and smart bombs. The war lasted a brutal 64 days in January and February. It took upwards of 350,000 lives and displaced many more. But weapons in both Iraq and Kuwait were left in power.

In August, an attempted coup in Moscow directly involved only eight conspirators. It lasted only 72 hours. It cost four lives.

At the close of the year, leaders of Israel and hostile Arab neighboring communities met face-to-face, if briefly, to talk about making peace. There were few other outward signs that the Gulf War, already that far from the situation of its global substance, had wrought many changes more enduring than the satellite TV images that had carried the high-tech battles live to the world.

But in the Soviet Union, transformations set off by the swiftly tamed August coup threat that raised superpower towards a difficult and dangerous future.

The coup that led to the demise of the Soviet Communist party and the crisis of President Mikhail Gorbachev was headed by men who sought to preserve the union against the diverse pressures of ethnic nationalists. And in another twist, Boris Yeltsin, the Russian leader who harassed popular outrage against the coup and orchestrated Gorbachev's release from captivity, urged the nation to incorporate power for the union government. Declared Gorbachev that "I will do everything possible to prevent our country from falling apart." It was a commitment that was al-

Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian republic, proclaimed victory in Moscow on Aug. 25 over organizers of an attempt to seize power in the Soviet Union.



ready being overtaken by independence celebrations in former Soviet provinces from the Baltic to the Balkans. And in December, after a Ukrainian referendum showed overwhelming support for independence, Gorbachev was reduced to his efforts to reduce wars in southeast Asia. "Without the union, there will be an eternal erosion of our security as a whole," he predicted. "The disintegration will even be brought with wars."

An example supporters such as those urged close at hand in the confederation of Yugoslavia. There, a similar surge of nationalist nationalism engulfed Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia in civil war. It was a worst-case example cited also in Canada. For the first time, in recent Canadian public forums late in the year, academics and others raised the specter of civil strife if Quebec should secede. Canadians ended last month's events in Quebec uneasily as they approached a year of deadlines for the resolution of their own regional arguments.

The world's rising nationalist fervors raised a hope that, in Bush's words as he prepared the United States for Operation Desert Storm in the Gulf War, "out of these troubled times a new world order can emerge—a new era, free from the threat of terror, stranger in the present of justice and more secure in the quest for peace." Still, despite February's success of arms by the 33-nation coalition forged by Bush against Saddam Hussein's Iraq—"If we didn't know it before Desert Storm, we know it now: nothing can stop us," Bush declared afterwards—the U.S. President had become yesterday's hero at home by year's end. Approaching the 1990 election year, Bush was attacked for what his critics say is a failure to fight the stubborn economic recession which, at its onset in 1980, had been widely but wrongly deemed as a mild corrective to the fiscal excesses of the 1970s.

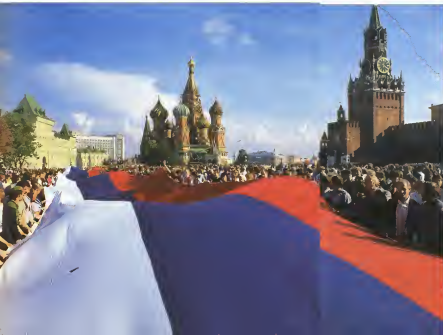
Tens of thousands of Canadians also experienced a plague of layoffs that lighted 1991. Hardship was aggravated by the Goods and Services Tax implemented on New Year's Day and an ensuing epidemic of cross-border shopping that paralyzed businesses across the country. Blame fell heavily on Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government and, indeed, on established politicians generally. Elections turned a government in British Columbia and Saskatchewan during October and installed NDP successors under Michael Harcourt in Victoria and Roy Romanow in Regina. In New Brunswick, a month earlier, voters elected eight members of the Confederation of Regions party, a fringe device that formed the official opposition to Premier Frank McKenna's re-elected Liberal government. Across English-speaking Canada, many voters turned from longtime parties to join Premier Manning's Reform party.

In Canada, as in many countries abroad, the images of dispute, upheaval and recession in 1991 seemed to foreshadow a new year of difficulty, even danger—something far short of a new world order that brings security and peace.

CARL MOLLANS

The Year Abroad

THE POWER OF PEOPLE AND THE GUN CHANGED THE WORLD



The massive Russian flag displayed by Moscow citizens after their successful resistance to the August coup foretold the aftermath. The hammer-and-sickle flag of the Soviet Union was rapidly replaced by the banners of the separate republics as the central authority broke down and the Communist party withered away. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev (right), with Russian republic President Boris Yeltsin; below, after his release from house arrest) was left powerless.



IMAGES OF 1991

By the beginning of January, after a four-month buildup following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on Aug. 2, 1990, the largely American air, sea and land forces in the Persian Gulf region—augmented by contingents from 32 other nations, including Canada—were ready for all-out war. In numbers of warriors, the two sides almost matched at almost one million each. But from its opening shots—the aerial attack on Baghdad and other Iraqi targets in the darkness well before dawn on Jan. 17—the Gulf War was fought mainly at long range. Armadas of bombers and guided missiles pounded Iraq and Iraqi-occupied Kuwait daily for six weeks. The forces of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein (below) fled



more than 80 Scud missiles into Israel, Saudi Arabia and nearby Gulf states. But his air force rarely rose to combat. The U.S.-led land assault, launched at 4 a.m. on Sunday, Feb. 24, routed the demoralized Iraqi. U.S. Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, welcomed home later as a hero (opposite, lower right), proclaimed victory 100 hours after the ground war began.



"We lead the world in facing down a threat to decency and humanity."

President George Bush, Washington, Jan. 28





IMAGES OF 1991

The politics of inter-ethnic enmities took a toll in lives and misery. After India's Rajiv Gandhi died in a plane crash on May 21 (above), police said Tamil nationalists were almost certainly to blame. Following the Gulf War, Iraqi Kurds (right, in a red shirt) fled to Turkey and Iran. In Yugoslavia, Serbian artillery set fire to the ancient Croatian

city of Dubrovnik (top right), in Ethiopia, where a many-sided civil war has raged for more than three decades, a force led by Tigreans seized Addis Ababa in May (opposite, far right). But in the Middle East, 10 Moslems held hostage in Lebanon, including British Terry Waite (center, opposite) and American journalist Terry Anderson (below Waite), regained their freedom.



"You summon up the energy from somewhere and get through the day—day after day after day."

Terry Anderson, freed after 5,481 days as a hostage

The Year At Home

A SICK ECONOMY AND NATIONAL DISUNITY FUELLED DISPUTE IN CANADA

For the first time in four decades, Canadian forces went to war. All 3,200 of the men and women in the Persian Gulf war zone, including the 61-18 pilots who flew bombing missions into Kuwait (opposite, top left), is turned safely—to a Canada racked by recession, labor unrest and political discord. The discovery appeared to strengthen the populist appeal of the Reform party, led by Preston Manning (opposite, top right). In September, during the first nationwide strike by the 155,000-member Public Service Alliance of Canada, strikers stormed Parliament Hill (right) before they ordered the PMAC back to work. Strikes by postal workers earlier disrupted the mail. Trucks blocked roads in protests against competition from U.S. counterparts. But military men and women added another high note of heroism to the year when they rescued the 12 survivors of an ill-fated island plane crash, including Capt. Willem DeGroot (opposite, far right), from the arctic darkness.



IMAGES OF 1991

Quebecers celebrated St. Jean Baptiste Day in a festive spirit on June 24 in Montreal (right). At a Parti Quebecois rally five months later, leader Jacques Parizeau proclaimed: "We have never been so close to independence." But a series of federal committees, including the Cliche's *Person on Canada's Future* under Keith Spicer (below centre), worked on ways to keep Canada intact. Federal constitutional proposals in September expressed native self-government—a goal of Ovide Mercredi (below left), new leader of the Assembly of First Nations. Prime Minister Mulroney discussed North American free trade with Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari (opposite, top right). Cessionists, inspired by Canada-U.S. free trade and the GST, went on a yearling cross-border shopping spree (for right).



"Quebecers are faced with a choice that is frighteningly simple: either to remain citizens of a united and prosperous country or to become citizens of another country."

Réjean Robitaille,
Montreal, Oct. 28



People And Patterns

NAMES, FAME AND SCANDAL MARK THE YEAR



Celebrities added both sparkle and scandal to 1991. The Prince and Princess of Wales, Charles and Diana, brought some willow (left) and Harry on an Ontario visit. Elizabeth Taylor, 58, was

an eight-time bride—to construction worker Larry Fortensky, 35, as pop star Michael Jackson's estate, Eric Lindros helped Team Canada win the Canada Cup hockey tournament, but upset Quebecers when he spurned a draft by the

NHL's Quebec Nordiques. NFL's elite football star Reggie Rucker (Rucker) Ismail helped Toronto's Argonauts win the CFL's Grey Cup and celebrated with team co-captain John Candy. Kurin (Moggi) Johnson quit basketball's Los Angeles Lakers

after testing positive for HIV, the virus linked to AIDS. New names added to the roster of fame and notoriety included Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas. He became a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, bitterly after fighting off her accusations of sexual harassment.





The Death Roll

CITIZENS OF CANADA AND THE WORLD LEFT POWERFUL LEGACIES

COLLEEN BOWEN 67, the Montreal-born actress renowned for Broadway stage roles in the zodiac's chance of playwright Eugene O'Neill and famous for her portrayal of Marilyn Cartier in the Canadian TV adaptation of *Anne of Green Gables* (cinema in Lewistown, N.Y., on Aug. 22). Her fourth tragedy, for a TV performance as *Murphy Brown*, was awarded posthumously three days after her death.



RICHARD HATFIELD 60, the colorful career politician who served as New Brunswick's premier from 1978 to 1987 and briefly as a Conservative senator, of long service on April 26. A bachelor with a dedication for nightlife and travel, he was acquitted in 1985 on a charge of possessing marijuana. Hatfield was equally well known as a fervent patron who crisscrossed constituency for Canadian unity.

NORTHROP FRYE 78, the internationally renowned teacher, critic and writer, in Toronto, on Jan. 23. Born in Sturbridge, Que., and raised in Montreal, N.B., Frye taught English and religion for more than 50 years at Victoria College in the University of Toronto. His books, *From Joseph's Dreaming* in 1947 to *Plots with Power* published shortly before his death, are widely influential works on myth and literature.



DAVID IKIN 63, British director of such film epics as *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962) and *The Bridge on the River Kwai* (1957), in London, on April 16. Knighted for service to film-making in 1964—the year of his last notable movie, *A Passage to India*—Ikin's work won 36 Academy Awards. His legacy included adaptations of two Charles Dickens novels, *Great Expectations* and *Oliver Twist*, both made in the 1940s.

MARGOT BOWEN 71, the British ballerina who dazzled audiences as London and around the world from the 1930s into the 1960s, in cinema, on Feb. 21, in Panama City, her adopted home. Dame Margot—who was created dance commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1956—closed all the principal classical roles, including memorable performances with Rudolf Nureyev in the 1950s and 1970s.



ROLAND MCEWEN 91, governor general from 1967 to 1974 in Toronto, on Aug. 6. The Alberta-born Conservative lawyer served as an Ontario MLC and then as an MP, including terms as Speaker of the House of Commons from 1967 to 1969 before his appointment as governor general. His signature authorized Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to invoke the War Measures Act during the 1970 October Crisis.

BECKIN FOSTER 86, the Newfoundland-born political scientist renowned as an eloquent and witty constitutional expert, on Feb. 20, after declining health, during a visit to Victoria. He helped draft the founding charter of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, forerunner of the npr. He later opposed that party's support of special status for Quebec and served as a Liberal senator in the 1970s.



GRACE MACLENNAN 82, a tireless defender of women's rights and of social programs for the poor during a lifetime political career, in Seattle, B.C., on July 14. The daughter of Methodist minister J. S. MacLennan, the first leader of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, MacLennan served as a CCF MLA in the 1940s, and as an MP for Vancouver/Kingsway from 1964 to 1974.

ARTHUR HANAUER 95, the ballroom dance king, after contracting pneumonia, in Honolulu on March 3. Born Moshe Tschernin to poor Jewish immigrants from Austria, Hanauer starred as a dance TV show for 11 years. He served his first dance studio at the age of 18 and by 1950 had established more than 480 schools in 50 countries. In 1962 he sold the chain and managed investments for friends and family.



NILES DAVIS 65, the innovative and influential American jazz trumpeter after a stroke, in Santa Monica, Calif., on Sept. 18. Born crossed over from bebop and jazz to fusion, a blend of jazz and rock's soul, and his experimentation kept him popular throughout his 30-year career. Many of his recordings—notably *Kind of Blue* and *Sketches of Spain*—are widely regarded as classics of jazz music.

GRANIE SEIDMAN 66, the critically acclaimed and widely read British author of a blood-drenched *Tweety*, in Switzerland, on April 3. Gracie established his name in 1938 with *Beethoven Rock* and his 1949 novel, *The Power and the Glory*. The gifted storyteller published 60 novels, plays and collections of essays, short stories and articles, which together have sold more than 28 million copies.



EDDIE MAXWELL 68, the Canadian-born first ball media magnate, found at rest on Nov. 5, after crashing on his yacht off the Canary Islands. He served as a Labour member of Parliament from 1964 to 1970. In 1984, he acquired the Mirror Group, publisher of the tabloid *Daily Mirror*, among other titles. His last addition to his media empire was New York City's *Daily News*, which he bought last March.

1991: it was easier to laugh than cry

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

It was a lousy year, emotionally, politically and in every other way, so that at the end of it the only universal emotion among Canadians was to pray 1992 would be better—or at least not worse. But some of 1991's deeds and especially mistakes are worth commemorating with this exclusive list of awards—won if only because it was often easier to laugh than to cry.

Political Open of the Year Award—To Spain's senate, which cast 177 votes in support of a government income tax bill on a day when only 150 senators were present. At last word, opposition parties were still demanding a runoff.

Standing on Guard for This Award—To the Ottawa bureaucrats who on Nov. 31 sent off 60 second-class mail 27,000 service cards to Canadian veterans of the Korean War. The conflict, which cost 516 Canadian lives, ended 38 years ago.

Pay Equity with a Vengeance Award—To Glenside, a London taxi plying who spent two years undergoing a wage chase, and was fired when he reported to work (as *Carlyle Joyce Monroe*)—then offered his old job back at his salary.

Death of Canada Award—To the Royal Canadian Mounted, which in August decided to issue four eleven-minute *Elvis Presley* cassettes, including a giant 30-minute video version in a velvet-lined wooden box, at \$225.

Last Place to Buy a Used Car Award—To Malcolm Erickson, author of a spectacularly unsuccessful attempt to build his pulchritudinous car in New Brunswick, for inventing a new way to sell used automobiles. He announced plans to open the first of his chain of 260-million "auto-ranchos" near Phoenix, Ariz., to market "remodeled" cars with "Disney-like" bophs. "What we have here is the beginning of

At the end of the year, the only universal emotion among Canadians was to pray 1992 would be better—or at least not worse

as earthquake in the automobile business," he boasted. Anyday left the earth waver!

Shooting Our Traditions in the Foot Award—To the Mulroney government, for discontinuing the firing of Ottawa's *snowday* gun that had tacitly marked the hour with a salvo since 1869. The cannon, forged at a White House factory in 1807, had been left behind when the last British garrison left the country, but on April 1, the National Capital Commission decided that its \$25,000 annual maintenance bill was no longer affordable.

Reckless Betting on a Friend Award—To Toronto art consultant Sir Johnathan, who revealed the double-crook Canadian couple, worried about the recession, could save only one a week, "usually on Saturday night or Sunday morning," drove from a previous 22 weekly beggary.

The Meg Ryan Award—To Roger Libby, head of an Atlanta-based group called the National Organization of Sexual Relationships, who revealed that women in the United States are joining acting schools to learn how to fake orgasm.

Reason's Least Deserving Victim Award—To Michel Cagney, who in June had \$27,233 in legal bills—in connection with a special inquiry into his allegations that the RCMP tried to extort him—paid by Canadian taxpayers. Cagney, currently on trial for "influence peddling," costs \$54,000 annually (plus a one-time \$10,000 allowance) as a senator.

Have I Got a Deal for You Award—To Sergei Kurganov, a Tokyo blackmailer who bludgeoned out a thousand form letters to Japan's richest doctors, lawyers, politicians and business executives, threatening to expose their most intimate secrets. By the time he was caught, Kurganov had collected five million yen from 139 affluent clients.

Americization of Canada Award—To Northern Telecom, our most successful high-tech multinational, for appointing as its chief corporate spokesperson a multiethnic Larry Spaulin, whose previous client was Ronald Reagan. In an autobiography about his White House years, Spaulin revealed that he had solicited presidential quotes on complex issues that were beyond the emperor's chief minister's grasp.

Worst PR of the Year Award—To Exxon, the world's largest oil company, hoping to avoid a long and costly trial, for agreeing to pay a \$1.5-billion fine to settle the criminal conspiracy of its tragic 1989 oil spill in Alaska's Prince William Sound. Just before the proposal was presented to the state's courts, Lawrence Rival, the energy company's chairman, declared that the settlement "seemed pretty good" to him because it would cut "have a significant impact on earnings" and would also to announce first-quarter profits of \$2.5 billion, the highest since John D. Rockefeller first organized the firm in 1848. The Alaska courts promptly rejected the Exxon offer.

Chutzpah of the Year Award—To William Wallace, the Delmarva executive whose deal struck in 1988 counted to acquire Algonquin Steel Corp. cost his firm a \$713-million writdown plus 25 months' losses. This past September, Wallace was rewarded for merely raising Canada's co-processor and company for being presented at Delmarva to chief executive officer.

Chutzpah of the Year Award (Corporate Diversion)—To Robert Campbell, who used his own company for wondrous financial, downgrading from chairman to chairman for being listed as chairman because the "intentionally" damaged his standing and reputation in the business community. "That's hard to imagine, since it was Campbell's party bagging up of U.S. department stores that in three years took the stock of his once-prosperous firm from \$36 to a low of 58 cents.

Quate of the Year Award—To Bank of Montreal chairman Matthew Bennett, who described the difficulty of restoring unity to a disintegrating Canada as: "There is no recipe for turning Canadians back into fish."

Man
discovers
26 ounces
of pure gold
in stocking.

This Christmas, stuff his stocking with the pure gold taste of Canadian Club.

C.C.
PURE GOLD



Canadian Club® is a registered trademark of House of Fraser & Sons Ltd.

ALL JEMMED IN

THE FAILURE OF A ST. JOHN'S-BASED RETAILER IS THE LATEST SIGN OF SERIOUS WEAKNESS IN THE ECONOMY

Under different circumstances, the store would have warmed the heart of any retailer. Dozens of bargain-hungry shoppers waited outside a crowded J. Michael's women's clothing store in downtown Toronto last week, held back by a uniformed security guard who allowed customers to enter the shop only when others left. The store signalled good times, however, the activity was the result of a financial crisis for the company that owns the J. Michael's chain. St. John's, Nfld.-based Apria's Ltd. earlier in the week, Apria's announced plans to close most of its 60-store operation, which also includes the Krazy Allan and Berne's women'swear chains, by the end of the month, laying off 750 full- and part-time employees across the country. Company president Miller Apria, whose family founded the firm in 1850, said that the company had not earned a profit since 1988. He blamed its problems on the volatile Goods and Services Tax, cross-border shopping and reduced consumer spending. Said an unaffiliated Apria's executive, "It's the current chairman of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce: 'The last half of 1991 turned out to be much worse than we anticipated. We just did not have the war chest to withstand the drop in business'."

The impending shutdown is just a series of developments that have sent shudders through Canada's retail and clothing industries. Late last month, representatives of Toronto-based Dyer's Ltd. said that it intends to close its 164 Town & Country stores across the country, eliminating 1,200 jobs by the end of February. Another major chain, the Quebec-based Lebel, Qc., is currently negotiating with its creditors in an effort to keep open its 500 clothing stores in Quebec and Ontario. And in Dec. 2, the Bank of Nova Scotia registered a \$20-million claim against the assets of Montreal-



Shoppers outside a J. Michael's store in Toronto "more than we anticipated."

-based Delays Canada Ltd., a 243-store operation that is experiencing its worst year since the firm's shares began trading publicly in 1970. The bank's action gives it the power to assume effective control of the money-lending women'swear chain if Delays defaults on its loans or fails to meet certain performance targets. Last week, Delays announced the shutdown of its 11-store U.S. division.

The downturn in consumer spending has affected other retailers, as well. Montreal-based Hickey Brothers & Sons Ltd., which is carrying about \$100 million in debt, last week sold one of its U.S.-based jewelry-store chains and announced plans to close 12 of its Canadian locations over the next two years.

The closure of so many clothing stores has led some representatives for Canada's gar-

ment makers. In the past two years, dozens of manufacturers have shut down or reduced their operations, eliminating 23,000 of 215,000 jobs. Now, in addition to being overtaken by stores that have gone out of business, manufacturers have lost valuable clients—retail chains that used to place orders for millions of dollars' worth of clothing each year. And garment makers face the additional threat of other major customers, such as the Hudson's Bay Co., buying more of their goods from foreign manufacturers that offer wider selections at prices lower than those available in Canada.

The uncertain business climate has made it difficult for manufacturers to plan production of next season's fashions. Says Peter Sygrod, chairman of Toronto-based Sygrod Inter-

national Inc., one of the country's largest garment makers, "It seems like every day or so we hear of another retailer or manufacturer closing up. It's very difficult to predict what is in the future when you don't know which customers are going to be around next year." Sygrod, who met his company's accountants last week to discuss that concern, says that he has decided to decline orders from retailers who appear to be in serious financial trouble. Added Jack Kowalski, vice-president of Montreal-based blue-jay maker Jack Sporti Mencho-

son, "I'm not sure that's the best way to do business."

Increased competition from U.S. companies that have moved into the Canadian market. Under the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, which went into effect in 1989, tariff on apparel shipments between the two countries are being phased out over 10 years. The duty on U.S. garment exports to Canada now averages about 17 per cent, compared with 24 per cent in 1988. At the same time, several large U.S. retail chains have opened stores in Canada. They range from the Gap, which sells casual wear, to Talbots, a Hingham, Mass.-based chain that specializes in high-priced women'swear.

Fearing the loss of customers, some Canadian retailers are looking ahead for suppliers that can offer them lower prices than those in Canada. Indeed, they just last month hosted a cocktail party in New York City for about 350 U.S. apparel manufacturers, all of whom are potential suppliers. The company's chief executive officer, George Knoch, told the group that he hopes to discourage Canadians from shopping in the United States by offering them lower prices and a broader assortment of goods at his company's 40 Bay stores across Canada. Canadian consumers would benefit, but the development would be a further blow to Canadian clothing suppliers.

Although most economists predict that the Canadian economy will grow gradually next year, some apparel manufacturers are looking themselves for another downturn. Says McGraw-Hill's Lepore, "People are talking about the recovery coming out of recession, but when you take a hard look at what's going on out there, the D-word starts to become more meaningful. We have to be concerned about what the recession will do for how we compete in North America."

A further complication is that many of the garment retailers and manufacturers in Canada are privately owned and do not make public financial disclosures. As a result, suppliers often have to rely on rumors and guesswork when taking stock of their customers' financial condition. Earl Lepore, executive vice-president of such manufacturer McGraw-Hill Industries Inc. of Toronto, says that his firm, which supplies more than 3,000 retail clients across Canada, has "aggressively" increased its financial reserves to cushion the company in case one of its large customers goes out of business.

In addition to facing a low level of consumer confidence across the country, clothing manufacturers and retailers are being squeezed by

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Business Notes

DEATH ON THE LINE

General Motors Corp. chairman Robert Stempel said that the company's automotive division is looking for ways to reduce its debt, which reached \$2.5 billion in the first nine months of the year. The Canadian Auto Workers union claimed that the company would renege production of the Ford Taurus in U.S. factories, which could leave up to 3,000 people out of work in Oshawa, Ont.

LEMBEY SHAKEDOWN

Canada lost the latest round in a decades-old trade battle with the United States when the U.S. International Trade Commission ruled that Canadian softwood lumber exports are unfairly subsidized. The dispute now moves to the U.S. department of commerce, which may impose offsetting duties on the Canadian exports. But that decision will likely be appealed under the dispute-resolution process established by the 1983 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement.

LESS IMPERIAL

Blaming "an absolutely devastating year," Imperial Oil Ltd. chairman Andrew Haynes told employees that Canada's largest integrated oil company anticipates its first-ever operating loss in 1991. As a result, Haynes said that he is freezing the salaries of 55 per cent of the company's 11,500 employees and holding the rest to a three-percent increase.

MAXWELL MELTDOWN

The worldwide media uproar of Robert Maxwell, the British tycoon who drowned under mysterious circumstances last week, continued to simmer when The European, a weekly newspaper published on the Continent last with a North American edition, led off all of its 140 staff members. In the meantime, the British high court froze the personal assets of Maxwell's wife, Mrs. Jean, who was in New York City trying to recover another Maxwell paper, the Daily News, America's largest daily newspaper. Investigators are trying to discover what happened to more than \$1 billion in assets alleged to be missing from Maxwell's publishing business, which has debts of nearly \$5 billion.

THE LAST PICTURE SHOW

Oscar Pictures Corp., the nine-year-old Hollywood film studio that has released such recent box-office hits as *Dances with Wolves* and *Glengarry Glen Ross*, filed for protection from its creditors under U.S. bankruptcy laws after a breakdown in negotiations on restructuring its nearly \$800-million debt.

BRENDA DALGLEISH with
BARBARA ROZINSKY in Toronto



An orgy over whether all men are vile

BY GEORGE BAIN

Men have been having a hard time at it lately. First, there was the great, scandal-baiting book that developed around the confession of Clarence Thomas as a justice of the United States Supreme Court. Whether or not Thomas would make a suitable appointee to the highest court in the land severely could have mattered less to most Canadians, the book in question being something else's. But suddenly, no topic of conversation escaped except whether the judge had or hadn't, and if he had, why had he taken so long to confess. Additionally, yards of print and hours of airtime were devoted to the subject—what harassment is, what it isn't, what should be done about it—much of it in no poor script that they should give it up. There is no need here, I take it, to spell out who are the perpetrators of sexual harassment.

That story ("Tainted victory," *Maclean's*, Oct. 30) has no more than been momentarily splashed out to be bigger violence-against-women story ("Women in fear," *Maclean's*, Nov. 11) replaced it. The week of the second anniversary of the massacre at the Ecole polytechnique in Montreal produced a full-blown assault upon the theme. Dec. 6, the latest date of that occurrence, is now an official day of remembrance declared by Parliament. Some municipalities ever—redundant, it would seem, given that Parliament speaks for all Canadians—have chosen to observe days of remembrance of their own. The question is whether all this emotion about already gone to events. Even now, a woman's killing of 14 young women has been translated into a symbol of something much bigger. I would not take a long step more to turn everything into a spectacle out of annual violence-against-women.

That is not to take light of violence against women, or the sexual abuse of children, or of sexual harassment, for that matter, although the latter clearly is a less well-defined form of assault, rarely physical. But a lot of what has been printed and broadcast has been questionable, and some could induce paranoia in a

The question is whether all the emotion about violence against women may not already have begun to spill over into excess

gentle state. Here are just a few statements containing statistics, all of them clipped from newspapers and magazines or taken as tidbits from television and radio in the past couple of years, the largest number of recent date.

"Sexual assault, statistics indicate, will happen to one woman four times in her lifetime. It can be murder." "One in eight women reported that they had been sexually harassed at work." "A constant rate of about 12 per cent of females were victims of childhood sexual abuse." "Recent surveys indicate between 88 and 96 per cent of working women have experienced sexual harassment at some time in their working lives." "Between 66 per cent and 69 per cent of women in the federal prison at Kingston were abused as children." "At least one woman in 30 is stalked by her partner" (This last, taken from a TV news program, may have been intended to say that one in 18 women who are stalked will be stalked by her partner. On the other hand it may not.) "In Canada, not only of violence against women occurs every six minutes." "On average, three sexual assaults are reported every hour in Canada." "One woman in four is abused physically or sexually before age 16." "One in 10 women have a relationship with their therapist

there are no figures for medical doctors." "One in 10 female graduate students at [a university] say they have observed their study plans to avoid sexual harassment."

Together, are all those statistics believable? It would need a better statistics than is available here to say whether, without an acceptable overlap, all these figures may be fitted into an inflexible 100 per cent of Canadian women. But where do such figures come from? In only one of the instances cited is there a firm press source—the Elizabeth Fry Society, an organization that stands witness in conflict with the law, as the statistic on childhood sexual abuse is the background of women in the Kingston penitentiary. All of them that are included, are taken from news stories that start from a premise and not material gleaned from reports, studies, analyses, consciousness, vaguely identified, if at all, that support the premise. The *Maclean's* story "Women in fear" was truer than most in referring to "the handful of official records and credible estimates that are available," before going on to say that they "offer a sobering glimpse of the extent of the fear—and the savagery."

That same cover story, subtitled "Experts are searching for the key to men's reign of terror against women," also said that "the number of women being killed—234 in Canada in 1990—has grown in recent decades roughly in line with the population increase." What is different is that women are vocally screaming, with great determination and growing political force, that the outrage end. At the risk of appearing unfeeling, it is necessary to ask on a relative basis, against the magazine's only actual numbers, chart of murders, "What [are] the signs of terror?" and "What [are] the signs of terror?"

According to those figures, female homicide victims in Canada went from 348 in 1980 to 253 in 1985, and down to 234 in 1990, precisely as looking with the number of male homicide, from which the comparable figures were 385, 451 and 402. Those figures say two things first, that the course of homicide in the one decade documented, and "recent decades," has been up and then down, and second that while we have more homicides than we can be comfortable with, the figures do not reflect a "man's reign of terror against women" and that it is not "terrorism" as we would prefer. What we have is a problem of violence in society as a whole.

Having said that none of this is to rub salt in violence against women, it is necessary to say what it is to do it to say these things. One, that dealing with serious problems is likely to be done better by steering from the more firmly rooted in reality. Two, that to insist on bringing that about, the media—of which this magazine has been only been as the handy example of a general feeling—ought to cease playing to the most responsive element in the gallery in analyzing serious problems. And three, that such headlines as "Three more slaves than ever in war against women" and "Fear of the night," to borrow a pair from the *Herald-Examiner*, do precisely what they purport not to do—substantiate a gender war and feed fear.

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Beverly (left), *Beverly Hills Cop*: the folly of a man who lived and died for his delusions

FILMS

A Hollywood hoodlum

Bugsy Siegel had big visions—and big rages

BUGSY

Directed by Barry Levinson

Gangsters and moonshiners have enjoyed a long-standing romance with each other's worlds. And perhaps no gangster has ever been more saturated with Hollywood than Benjamin ("Bugsy") Siegel, the flamboyant 1940s racketeer who colorized the stage of a star and the ambitions of a studio mogul. Siegel was the American dreamer who created Las Vegas—by building its first gambling palace, a lavish hotel in the middle of nowhere. He was also a soapboxer: later, New Woman Beauty portrays him as a dapper romantic here in *Bugsy*.

It would be easy to imagine Bugsy as a phony Hollywood movie. Bugsy seems an unlikely choice to play a Jewish gangster. The script is riddled with the kind of clever dialogue that happens only in movies. And Oscar-winning filmmaker Barry Levinson directs with a studied delicacy. But *Bugsy*'s artifice has a seductive resonance. The film is, after all, about entrepreneurs—about the folly of a man who lived and died for delusions of grandeur. The story is compelling. At times, it is a bloody tragedy. And *Bugsy* gives the most intriguing and complex performance of his career.

Focusing on the final years of Siegel's life, the movie begins with his takeover of the Las

Angelas racket and ends with his 1947 death in a gangland slaying. In Hollywood, the delirious gangster boys, bullets and charms has way to celebrity status—to the horror of his men crosses back east, who risked money. Siegel associates with the stars, notably actor George Raft (Joe Mantegna). He dreams a hotel becoming a vice haven—going so far as to appear in screen tests—and even hatches a crazy plot to assassinate Marilyn.

Inevitably, Siegel is put in a position. Leaving his wife and two children in New York City, he has a tempestuous love affair with violet Virginia Hill (Elizabeth Berkley). She becomes his partner in constructing the Las Vegas hotel that bears her stage name, the Flamingo. The budget issues, driving his Mafia colleagues danger into debt, and Siegel's desert dream becomes his ending.

As the story unfolds, the gangster's reckless ambition and blind love make him increasingly vulnerable. Levinson gradually softens the movie's dark edges, while the tidal rhythms of Ennio Morricone's score pulse a skewed authenticity in the final scenes. The momentum slows. There is a raw, tender embrace right out of Casablanca. And when *Bugsy* finally strikes, the director leaves *Bugsy* sitting far an uncomfortable long scene with bar mouth lollapops, and his mind had turned to the next page of the script and found it bleak.

Bugsy tries hard to be a love story with a lot of overcooked chemistry between Beauty and Boring (now pregnant with her daughter). But some of the movie's most tender and tender scenes are between men. Ben Kingsley brings a convincing dignity to the role of Meyer Lansky. Siegel's loyal Mafia cohort Elliott Gould, rescued from the what-ever-happened-to him of faded stars, steps brilliantly out of character to play a pragmatic but not mean Harry. And as Siegel's best friend, Mickey Cohen, Harvey Keitel is looser and cooler than ever—a homicide with a sense of humor.

Beauty, meanwhile, effectively plays off her own legend. Her Bugsy is an over-the-top, over-the-top, over-the-top character. He puts on a show for her and becomes an unlikely buffoon as he tries to juggle an unexpected mob visit with the service of his daughter's birthday cake. But in a blink, he can descend into vicious, swirling rage. And the contrast is terrifying. In one devastating scene, he looks a man to death at a Latin nightclub, his gambled shoes flashing to a Cuban beat.

Never before has Beauty allowed himself to appear so rusty on screen. And he is really good at it. As Siegel, he has created a portrait as complex as the role that inspired him as a producer and a major star, the bank-robbing outlaw in *Shogun* and *Cyde*. But unlike that 1987 classic, *Bugsy* glances at its extraordinary vision rather than suffer violence. Siegel's career devotion to creating a grandiose tale of entertainment in the desert makes him a challenge to show his true nature—a late Hollywood can truly appreciate. And now, he has finally fulfilled his dream of making it in the movies.

BRUCE B. JOHNSON

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Sweetie, Baby!* (V)
- 2 *Whispering Ties, Altered* (B)
- 3 *Matthew & Wolfgang Spills, Dances* (L)
- 4 *Call A Radio Broadcast, Keller* (D)
- 5 *Gull and Salmon, Bantock* (T)
- 6 *Best South, Kinnell*
- 7 *Like, Pines* (V)
- 8 *The Redhead Girl's Wife, Tia*
- 9 *The Gates of Ivory, Deblin* (L)
- 10 *Prophet of a Very Wild Child, Corcoran*

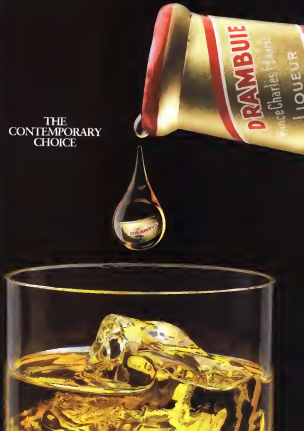
NONFICTION

- 1 *The Betrayal of Canada, Harty* (D)
- 2 *Manhood Prison, Newman* (L)
- 3 *Me: Stories of My Life, Nephros* (B)
- 4 *Good Boy, Humphrey* (B)
- 5 *Mahoney, Reynolds* (V)
- 6 *The Man Who Wasn't There, Wild* (B)
- 7 *The Popcorn Report, Pines* (T)
- 8 *My Son, Morrow* (V)
- 9 *More than a Man, Johnson*
- 10 *A Capital Scandal, Fife and Warren* (A)

(L) Previews list only

Compiled by Brian Bachner

THE CONTEMPORARY CHOICE





When Britain waives the rules

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

More decades ago than I care to remember, a young reporter was wandering about Europe with muscled ribs, sleeping in youth hotels, eating black bread and grout and talking to people. Everywhere he went—Bilbao to Germany to France to Italy—he was told that Mother England was making a vast mistake. By refusing to enter this growing-up experiment called the European Common Market, the ignorant young scrooge was told, the Brits would be left behind and forever would be at the mercy.

It is now 1991 and the Dutch towns of Maastricht and Churchill's idea of "a United States of Europe" is still as absurd dream—because yet another Little Englander wants to get around the prophecies of the dirt board and the hangers and mud.

Became John Major is ahead of Maggie Thatcher—the self-advertised Backseat Driver—Britain wants to be part of Europe, sort of, but not sort of—rather reminiscent, when you think of it, of Quebec and Canada.

The major difference is that Britain is an island (while Quebec is only a cultural island). People who live on islands are loomed events. Being completely surrounded by water does something to the brain. Murphy may be the proper word, as various Winston Churchill—or the specialised United Nations in the waters on the way to Vancouver, Jack Webster being the prime exhibit of the apocryphal.

It has been a staple of the Brit dirt boards for centuries that "The wops start at Calais"—a mantra that has sustained English snuggles from war to war. The most famous defence in English sportswriting appeared in *The Guardian* as Manchester which, the day before the World Cup soccer final between England and West Germany at Wembley Stadium in 1966: a story began "It, on the margin, the Germans should have been at our national game, let us remember that we have beaten them twice at home."

The English essentially do not like foreigners. If you want to understand the English, you must study the recent survey that found most



English people live within 50 miles of their parents. It's a tight little island. Maggie Thatcher typifies the breed, and John Major who cannot call an elevator by name—a friend of Maggie Thatcher (most men are).

It is no secret why Major's Little Englanders, at Maastricht, also wanted the idea of a European federal union and the move to the deadweight sound coin—the new European currency. One wants only to visualize upon the Costa Brava in Spain or the Roman coast in Italy where the Brits, on charter terms, demand chips-with-everything with gravy on the side. This is a xenophobic tribe that takes its xenophobia abroad, rather like Argentina.

We all know the famous Fleet Street headline: "Storm over Channel—Europe cut off." Why, we've always wondered, is it the "English Channel"? Is it not the "French" or the "Dutch" or "Belgian" or "European" channel as much?

The industry of the Brits to keep up is illustrated well by the Channel tunnel which, as we type, has been backed up and the rail lines are being laid. The bullet train developed in France will cover passengers and freight at close to 200 m.p.h. from Paris and beyond and then hit Little England—where an equivalent modernity has yet even been started and the eye-rolling Europeans will then cling on up to Victoria Station at perhaps 40 m.p.h. on a good day (no strikes being scheduled that shift).

The Brits do not like the idea of the sea because, attached to Dickens, they still like those pounds and pence—especially liked by sailors since the notoriously heavy rains were on the trawler grounds in six weeks. (The English like to suffer, which is why they ate the food they are served.)

The English think the French are motivated because they don't have neat laws and have

abominable toilets. The French think the English are motivated because they can't suppress their recreational sex lives on a rational, Thursday-afternoon basis. Never the twain shall meet, as the Channel tress demonstrate.

It does not worry the Brits that Brussels, in heart of the European Community, is destined to be forever the bureaucratic rabbit warren of paper-pushing and outgassing. By its thumb-sucking cohesion to pounds and pence the Brits have ensured that President will be the new backing capital of the new Europe, not the privileged City of London.

What is important is that John Major's father used to be a tropic artist in the circus, is a previous incarnation. Major, junior, spoken by Mother Maggie's parting pledge that she would be a good Backseat Driver for her protégé, is dropping his back as Churchill's hens were back when the war was starting in cheap camps in Marseilles.

Major, playing to the dirt boards, will have his decision by April on a plank of steeling up to all those hungry people across the pond who rock of garlic and have mistresses. It is a great appeal in the path of Lewis and Churchill-side-Mat.

It is the English way. They will go on believing that meat soaked to boot black and veggie lead to obesity can still misrepresents a good. They will never understand the lack of dietetic on the faces of France's rugby squad when confronted with the post-lunch dish of their put in front of them at the Cardiff Arms Hotel.

It is as absurd, popularized by Little Englanders. Progress marches on. The Brits remain the Brits. Veggie, we'll doze.

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